## A Vindication of the Conduct and Principle

# THE TWO SERMONS,

PRINTER of the NEWARK HERALD.

An Appeal to the Justice of the People of England, of the Result of two recent and extraordinary PROSICUTIONS for LIBELS.

#### BY DANIEL HOLT.

"Forbidden Writings, are generally thought to be certain Sparks of Truth, that fly up in the Face of those who feek to tread them down." Lord Bacon.

NEWARK: Printed and Sold by the AUTHOR fold also by all Booksellers.

One of these Prosecutions, is, perhaps, the momentous and interesting to the LIBERTY OF T PRESS, that has occurred fince the Revolution the Nation at large is of the utmost Consequence; to Bookfellers and Printers, it is peculiarly imports This Profecution was inflituted against the DEFENDA for REPRINTING, in January 1793, a Paper, bright published in the Year 1783, by the SOCIETY AT THATCHED House TAVERN, of which Society PITT, the DUKE OF RICHMOND, &c. &c. were Me bers !!! The Proceedings in Court are transcribed bation, from the Notes of a Short Hand Water; Contain the whole of the eloquent Speech of the Ho T. ERSKINE, the Speech of the Attorney General, the Opinions of the Judges, as delivered in the Court King's Bench, on the 21st and 22d Days of Nevember 1793.—To the whole is added, an APPENDIX, co taining, The Duke of Richmond's Letter to Color Sharman, with his Grace's Bill for a Parliamentary form; Mr. Pitt's Speech on a Parliamentary Reform 1782; &c. &c.

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therefore Leannie es imperito de tentale!

## LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

G He (the perfor velied with the etc.

"contrary to his trult, when he cither "contrary to his trult, when dand yM

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THE following Trial is peculiarly interefting to you! The Hampshire Treafury Opponent of the illustrious House of Ruffel, by standing Trial with a simple Publican, has not only blackened his Character for ever, as an upright Statesman, but he has confiderably foiled the ermine of Mr. Pitt's purity, in allowing it to be proved in a Court of Justice, where the King, his master, is, in the eye of the law, omnipresent, that his virtuous, immaculate, and heaven-born Minister, was privy to transactions, which, if we may believe the following words tof the great AJOA 33 Locke,

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1.ocke, is a high breach of trust, and therefore he ought no longer to be trusted!

the may hard to some it

"He (the person vested with the exe"cutive power, i. e. the Premier) acts
"contrary to his trust, when he either
"employs the force, treasure, and offices
"of the Society, to corrupt the Repre"sentatives, and gain them to his pur"poses; or openly pre-engages the Electors,
"and prescribes to their choice, such whom
"he has, by solicitations, threats, promises,
"or otherwise, won to his designs, and em"ploys them to bring in such who have pro"mised, before-band, what to vote, and
"what to enact.

"Thus, to regulate Candidates and Elec"tors, and new model the way of Election,
what is it but to cut up the Government by the roots, and poison the
"very

"the people having referved to themselves the choice of their Representatives, as a fence of their properties, could do it for no other end, but that they might always be freely chosen, and so chosen, freely act and advise, as the necessity of the Commonwealth, and the Public Good should, upon examination and mature debate, be judged to require. This, those who give their votes before they hear the debate, and have weighed the reasons on all sides, are not capable of doing.

"To prepare fuch an Assembly as this, "and endeavour to set up the declared "abettors of his own will, for the true Re"presentatives of the People, and the "law-makers of the Society, is certainly "as great a breach of trust, and as per"fect

" fect a defign to fubvert the Government,

"as it is possible to be met with. To

" which, if one shall add, rewards and

" punishments, visibly employed to the

so same end, and all the arts of perverted

" law made use of, to take off and destroy

" all that stand in the way of such a de-

" fign, and will not comply and confent

" to betray the liberties of their country,

" it will be past doubt what is doing.

"What power they ought to have in

in clarit sent in

" the Society who thus employ it, con-

" trary to the trust went along with it,

" in its first institution, is easy to deter-

" mine; and one cannot but fee, that he,

" who has once attempted any fuch thing as

" this, cannot any longer be trufted."

LOCKE'S Treatife on CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

In perusing this curious Trial, my Lord, you

you will perceive some facts wonderful, fome ludicrous, fome very alarming to the liberties of the People, and bigbly injurious to HIS MAJESTY'S Exchequer! Your Lordship will read, with the utmost risible indignation, of a Treasury Secretary employing a Publican for Election purposes, in the presence not only of his brother Secretary, but in that of his master, the Prime Minister of the British Empire! Your indignant rifibility, my Lord, will be greatly heightened, when you read of a Treasury Messenger, suggesting, advising, and dictating to the all-wife and baughty Minister himself, and his two fapient Secretaries! Your Lordship will be shocked for the Fredom of Election, when you read of many other persons befides Smith, being employed by the Treasury, in that Election; Mr. Frost declaring in Court, " that he kept a distinct account of " those persons which the Treasury employed Dilling to

"from those which he, as Lord Hood's
"Agent, employed!"

But how, my Lord, must you be alarmed, when you read of a Treasury Secretary, Mr. Rose, declaring to Mr. Frost,

" That there was something of a PROSECU-

" TION going on with the EXCISE against

" SMITH, (the PLAINTIFF in this Action) and as

" a mark of trust and confidence THEY had in

" bim, THEY HAD INTERFERED, and

" STEPT IN TO SERVE HIM."

Can your Lordship peruse this without a pause, at the gross enormity, at the highatrocity of such a measure? At a crime of the utmost magnitude, of the deepest dye, against the Public Revenue, to serve the corrupt purposes of Electioneering intrigue? No, my Lord; you and every other good Citizen must exclaim, "No wonder that the People are oppressed

oppressed with additional burdens, owing, not more to useleless armaments, which ferve but to degrade us; to useless places, which ferve but to corrupt us; than to a defective Revenue, which ferves but to enslave us --- a Revenue often rendered defective by the partiality of its collection; by our virtuous Ministry remitting the Fines of Excise to those who drudge in their venal fervice; whilft, no doubt, all its terrific and grinding fangs are spread over those who are too independent to be their tools, and are crushed in pieces, by Excise, from their obstinate virtue!"

There is not, my Lord, an honest man in the whole Empire, that will not applaud you, or your friends, in bringing forward this business, by parliamentary investigation. The Excise, in its mildest mode of collection, shews much of the

barbarity of the burglar; but, when cherished, strengthened, let loose, and led on by a vindictive Administration, against their Opponents, it setters and dungeons its victims with the cruelty of a tyrant; it stabs with the dark malice of the assassin; and devours with the ferocity of the tyger!

The only argument which Mr. Rose's friends can advance to exculpate him on Smith's Excise-sine, is similar to what Mr. Erskine said in alleviation of his conduct, of at all interfering in the Westminster Election.

to those, who drudge in their venal

The accomplished Counsel generously urged in the Secretary's defence, although against him, that he might have engaged in this Election-business from the purest motives, in endeavouring to trace out, and

There is not, my Lord, an honest man

and detect the various iniquities committed; so that a Bill, then in agitation, for the improvement of Elections in Westminster, might be much amended, by the Secretary's deep knowledge of all the illegal and corrupt proceedings!

In like manner, my Lord, Mr. Rose might have wished to serve the State as well as his quondam friend, Smith, respecting the Excise sine; that by once pardoning a fellow subject from the unmerciful rigours of that odious law, and viewing his raptures, it would act as a grand sympathetic stimulative, to remit all Excise sines whatever; besides, perhaps, reforming the whole of that Eritish inquisitorial code, and quoting Smith's former oppression, and present happiness, in Parliament, in support of the policy and necessity of thatvery refor m!

But, my Lord, however that may be, I wish

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with you and your friends to profecute with impartial seal, this iniquitous and very flagrant bufiness. The alledged enormities of Hastings, however vile and multifarious they really might be proved, are nothing to that charge against Mr. Rose.

Simplified, my Lord, I understand the Excise affair between Mr. Rose and Mr. Smith, was this—

Mr. Smith was under the lash of the Excise, in a fine of Fifty Pounds, for brewing some Ale for his family, which it seems no Publican, Taverner, or Innholder, has a right, on any pretext, to do.

My Lord, on that frange transaction I shall make no more remarks than this:

That after near three years of Excise
JUDGMENT

JUDGMENT being pronounced, Mr. Smith has only paid Twenty-five Pounds into the Exchequer, of the Fifty Pounds awarded by that Board against him."

What is the reason of this partiality, or speaking in the mildest manner, of this shameful LAXITY?

For the sake of your country, for the sake of your illustrious family, and your worthy self, institute a Parliamentary Enquiry into this vile business. There is evidence sufficient to prove it, in the most heinous point of view.

My Lord,
I am, with Respect
and Admiration of
Your Character and
Conduct,
YOUR LORDSHIP'S

. Most obedient Servant,

July 28, 1791.

THE EDITOR.

#### TRIED BEFORE

#### LORD KENYON, AND A SPECIAL JURY.

COUNSEL FOR THE PLAINTIFF,
Meffrs. Erskine, Mingay, and Baldwin.

COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENDANT,
Meffrs. BEARCROFT and WOOD,

ATTORNEY FOR THE PLAINTIFF, Mr. GROVE, Villers-fireet, Strand.

#### ATTORNIES FOR DEFENDANT.

Meffrs. CHAMBERLAYNE and WHITE, Solicitors to the Treasury.

#### NAMES OF THE SPECIAL JURORS.

- 1. JOHN STEPHENSON, of Lower Charles-freet, Efq.
- 2. NATHANIEL CONANT, of Lamb's Conduit-freet, Efq.
- 3. JOSEPH BALLARD, of Bedford-Row, Efq.
- 4. SAMUEL HAWES, of Major Fourbes's Passage, Shoe-Maker.
- 5. HENRY DIXON, of Silver-freet, Broker.
- 6. WILLIAM DAWBNEY, of Carnaby-fireet, Grocer.
- 7. HENRY FERNELL, of the fame place, Tallow-chandler.
- 8. RICHARD HEATH, of Berwick-ffreet, Coach-maker.
- 9. WILLIAM LONGSDALE, of Broad-fireet, Cabinet-maker.
- 10. WILLIAM JEFFERY, of the fame place, Mercer.
- 11. THOMAS HANKIN, of Leicefter-fields, Gent.
- 12. ANTHONY GERNER, of Oxford-freet, Glas-man.

## fendant, for LAL TRIAL and ot his frecial infinnce ar

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ATTEMENT OF CONTRACTOR

## GEORGE ROSE, Esq.

AT THE SUIT OF

#### MR. SMITH,

A PUBLICAN IN WESTMINSTER,

For Bufiness done in the late Contested Election for Westminster, Feeding Lord Hood's Friends, &c.

#### SMITH against ROSE.

MR. BALDWIN, on the part of the Plaintiff, opened the pleadings. The Declaration stated, that the Defendant, on the 19th of April, 1791, at Westminster, was indebted to the Plaintiff in the fum of One Hundred and Ten Pounds, Five Shillings, of lawful money of Great Britain, for the work and labour, care, diligence, and attendance of the Plaintiff, before before that time done, performed, and bestowed, by him the said Plaintiss, in and about the business of the said Defendant, for the Desendant, and at his special instance and request.

And being so indebted, he, the said George Rose, in consideration thereof, afterwards, to wit, on the same day and year aforesaid, undertook and faithfully promised the Plaintiff to pay him the said sum of One Hundred and Ten Pounds, Five Shillings, whenever he, the Defendant, should be thereunto afterwards requested.

There were other Counts in the Declaration, upon the Quantum Meruit—also for money paid, laid out, and expended—for money had, lent, and advanced—and on the balance of Accounts between the parties.

To this Declaration, the Defendant pleaded

elo so

pleaded, that he made no fuch promise, and thereupon issue was joined.

Mr. Erskine opened the Case as follows:

May it please your Lordship, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury,

I am a Counsel for the Plaintiff, Mr. GEORGE SMITH, who is a Publican of character and reputation, in King-street, Westminster, where he has resided near twenty-seven years, and he has been sixteen years Master of the Star and Garter public house. He is Master also of the livery-stables adjoining.

The Defendant, Mr. GEORGE ROSE, is a Member of Parliament, one of the Joint Secretaries to the Treasury, Whitehall, and lives in Palace-yard, Westminster.

Gentlemen, this Action is brought, in order to recover the sum of 110l. 5s. for the work and labour, diligence and attention of the Plaintiff, from the 21st of September, 1789, to the 17th of April, follow-

ing; which, you will find, makes up the space of Thirty Weeks, at Ten Shillings and Sixpence per day, in discovering and collecting proofs of a multitude of bad votes that were polled for Lord John Townshend, at a late contested Election for the City of Westminster. The Plaintiff performed this work at the special instance and request, and under the particular direction of the Honourable Gentleman who is the Defendant in this cause.

When I tell you that Mr. Rose is one of the Secretaries to the Treasury, and that this Action is brought to recover, on his Retainer, a sum of money; a great number of Observations might present themselves to a mind disposed to mischief or to malice; or to scatter infinuations in a Public Place. I will not do so; because the question you have to try will be this--"Whether Mr. George Rose, of the Treasury," no matter from what motives, "employed the Plaintiff?" He might have engaged

engaged Mr. SMITH in this business, from very justifiable motives.

For instance—from private friendship; or, as about that time a BILL was about to be brought into Parliament, for the purpose of making some alteration in the Mode of electing Members of Parliament to represent the City of Westminster, Mr. Rose, from the most honourable motives, might have employed the Plaintiff to detect bad votes, with a view to gain information on the subject, by way of Foundation for the BILL.

Gentlemen, I would much rather that you should impute the conduct of the Defendant, in this business, to a proper than to an improper motive. If the Defendant is supposed to have busied himself in that Election, because my Lord Hood was looked on to be more the friend of Government than his Noble and successful Opponent; and if this RETAINER was to be PAID out of the PUBLIC PURSE,

PURSE, it would not be very bonourable for Mr. Rose; and therefore I do not make any fuch charge.

Gentlemen, it is enough for me that the Plaintiff was retained, and that his house, the Star and Garter, was opened by the directions of Mr. Rose. In 1788, it is well known to us all, there was a strong contested Election for a Member to represent the City of Westminster in Parliament. The Candidates, on the occasion, were, Lord JOHN TOWNSHEND and Lord HOOD. As I have just observed, the Plaintiff's house, the Star and Garter, was opened for the accommodation of Lord Hoop and his Friends, at that Election: and, as I have also observed, this was done at the particular request of Mr. Rose. In consequence of this order, a considerable expence was incurred, for good Eating and Drinking. The Plaintiff made out his Bill on that account, and that Bill was very honourably paid. The Plaintiff now applies for the amount of another Bill, for other

other fervices performed at the request of Mr. Rose, subsequent to that Election.

Gentlemen, although I fee Mr. WHITE (the Solicitor to the Trefaury) sitting before me, I infer nothing from that circumstance, for who would not, on any occasion, be glad to employ so able an Attorney.

[This excited some mirth; and Mr. White acknow-ledged his approbation of the complement, in a profound bow to Mr. Erskine.]

Gentlemen of the Jury, all that I have to observe to you is, that Mr. George Rose has made a promise which he has not yet performed, and which it is the object of this action to compel him to perform. I impute nothing to those who defend this action, because they are very honourable Men. I impute nothing whatever to Mr. George Rose, except that he has not paid my Client what he cught to have paid him; and which I hope you, Gentlemen of the Jury, will compel him to pay. I shall call my Witnesses, and if they can be shaken

in their characters, or in their evidence, that will be matter of observation for my Learned Friend.

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Gentlemen, I shall only make one other observation, which is, that I am not a little surprized that no Money has been paid into Court. Nothing remains but that I should call my Witnesses and prove my Case; which will entitle me to your Verdict.

#### EVIDENCE for the PLAINTIFF.

GEORGE CLUBB was called by Mr. MINGAY; but not immediately appearing, Mr. Erskine observed that he was, no doubt, a "knocking-down fellow," one of the Messengers to the Treasury; and therefore a Man whom the Treasury might safely intrust with any Business.

[The Evidence of this difinterested Gentleman was so interesting, and made so strong an Impression on every one who heard it, that it may not be improper to give it in detail, togetherwith the questions that were put to him.]

#### EXAMINED by Mr. MINGAY.

- Q. Is your Name GEORGE CLUBB, Sir?
- A. It is.
- Q What are you, Clubb?
- A. A Messenger to his Majesty's Treasury.
- Q. Do you recollect the contested Election between my Lord Hood and Lord John Townshend?
  - A. Perfectly, Sir.
- Q. Do you know George SMITH, the Master of the Star and Garter, in King Street, Westminster, the Plaintiff in this Action?
  - A. Very well, Sir.
- Q. Was his house open for my Lord Hood and his Friends at that Election?
- A. I was a friend to my Lord Hood and also a friend to Mr. Smith.
- Q. Is that an answer to my question, Sir? I ask you, Sir, upon your Oath, whether Mr. Smith's house was not open for my Lord Hood and his Friends during that contested Election between him and Lord John Townshend?
  - A. His house was opened.
  - Q. By whose order?
  - A. By the order of that Gentleman,

(pointing at Mr. Frost the Solicitor) I went to Mr. SMITH, and told him as a friend, "Open your house immediately---I will be responsible for a Buttock of Beef, a Ham, and a Fillet of Veal."—

(This excited a burst of Laughter.)

Q. Do you know Mr. Rose?

A. I know Mr. Rose perfectly well; he is one of the Secretaries of the Treasury.

2. Did you ever see him at Mr. Smith's?

A. I never did.

2, Did Mr. Rose order you to go to Mr. Smith, and tell him to open his house for my Lord Hood?

A. He was angry for my mentioning that Mr. Smith's house was to be opened.

Q. Why did you defire Mr. SMITH to open his house?

A. I wished to do Mr. Smith good.

2. Did you ever carry any message from Mr. Smith to Mr. Rose?

A. I did.

2. What did Mr. Rose fay?

A. He

A. He said he was troubled with this man's nonsense; and I once saw him take one of Mr. Smith's Letters and throw it into the fire.

2. Do you know that the Plaintiff's Bill was delivered to Mr. Rose?

A. I do not remember the Plaintiff's Bill being delivered to Mr. Rose. Mr. Smith has been paid his two Bills.

2. By whom?

A. Mr. Frosr the Solicitor paid him the one, and Mr. Jackson the other.

2. Do you know from WHAT SOURCE this money came?

A. It was raised by a Subscription of Gentlemen.

2. Of what GENTLEMEN?

A. Of those Gentlemen who chose to subscribe to it.

2, Were you a Subscriber?

A. I was not.

2. Was Mr. Rose a Subscriber?

A. I don't know that he was.

2. What occasion was there for a Subscription?

A. Mr. Frost's Order was refused by Mr. Smith. He would not take Mr. Frost's Note,

Note, because it was not sufficiently explicit.

- Q. In what fituation was Mr. Frost at that time?
- A. He was Solicitor and Agent of Lord Hood.
- Q. You told us before, that you was a friend to Lord Hood. I suppose you only know him as a Candidate for Westminster?

[Here the Witness swelled into consequence.]

- A. Sir, I have the HONOUR to know Lord Hood personally!
- Q. Did you never tell Mr. SMITH that Mr. Rose would pay bim?
- A. I never did.
  - Q. How then was SMITH to be paid?
- A. He was to be paid like the rest, by Mr. Frost and Mr. Jackson.
  - Q. From what fund?
  - A. That I do not know.
- Q. Was Mr. SMITH never introduced to Mr. Rose?

[Here again the Gentleman assumed an air of dignity.]

A. Sir, I had the honour of PRODUCING

## the Interview between these two Gen-

#### CROSS-EXAMINED by Mr. BEARCROFT.

Q. Now attend, Clubb. Has not Lord Hood's Committee paid Mr. Smith agreat deal of money?

A. They undoubtedly have.

Q. You faid that you have mentioned the name of SMITH to Mr. Rose?

A. I put down the names of Mr. Smith's house and of his Brother's house; and suggested to Mr. ROSE and Mr. STEEL, that they were proper houses.

Q. Was any other person present?

[Here a good deal of hesitation and unwillingness enfued.]

A. I CANNOT RECOLLECT who was in the room when that was mentioned.

Q. (Mr. Erskine) You must recollect, Sir."

[At last out came the answer]

A. Mr. PITT was in the Room!

Q. You say, then, that Mr. PITT was in

the room with Mr. Rose and Mr. Steel, at the time you suggested to them the propriety of opening Mr. Smith's house for Lord Hood and his Friends?

A. He was.

Q. What made you think that Mr. SMITH's house was a house more proper to be opened than any other?

A. Because he was a PATRIOTIC MAN, and I thought he would go ANY LENGTHS in the Cause; and therefore I recommended him to Mr. PITT, Mr. STEEL, and Mr. ROSE.

Q. You say he was a patriotic man—Why do you say so?

A. Because he had gone 20 or 30l. out of pocket, and therefore I recommended him to these Gentlemen: I believed him to be staunch in the Cause; he detected a great number of bad votes polled for Lord John Townshend.

Q. I believe, at last, he began to slacken?

A. No, he did not flacken, but persevered, and went A GREAT LENGTH indeed; but

it was never supposed that he would charge any thing for his TROUBLE!

Q. Did Mr. Rose employ him?

A. No, he was employed by MYSELF! I recommended him to Mr. Rose; and he having complained he could get nothing for his TROUBLE and EXPENCE, I applied to a "certain Gentleman."

[Lord Kenyon, from his impartial love of Justice, here interposed his authority, and took up the examination of the Witness himself]

- Q. Who was that " certain Gentleman," Sir?
- A. I beg you will hear me—I spoke and recommended him to a "certain Gentleman."
  - Q. (Lord KENYON)—Who? Who?
  - A. I beg you will excuse me.
- Q. Lord (KENYON)—No, Sir, you must answer the question.

A. I SPOKE TO Mr. ROSE.

[Here the business was interrupted by a burst of laughter.]

Q. (Mr. BEARCROFT,) What did you say to Mr. Rose?

A. I told

- A. I told him this man had GONE a confiderable way in detecting bad votes polled for Lord John Townshend, and that he could detect five or fix hundred of them, but could not PROCEED without money.
- Q. Well, what answer did Mr. Rose make to that?
- A. He said, "Mr. Smith might give them victuals and drink, but he must not go too far. He goes too great lengths; he must not go too far." I told Mr. Rose that he was very strenuous in the Cause.

#### RE-EXAMINED by Mr. MINGAY.

- Q. You say then, CLUBB, that when you mentioned the business to Mr. Rose he had no objections to allow SMITH for the victuals and drink, but defired that he would not go on too far?
  - A. He did.
- Q. I think you faid that Mr. Smith had done some business, and had put himself to some expence in detecting these bad votes before you mentioned him to Mr. Rose?
  - A. He had. Mr. Rose said he was a troublesome

troublesome fellow; and he frequently extorted an answer from Mr. Rose.

and admits of no fitch do-

Q. Well, Sir, when you came back from Mr. Rose, did you communicate this conversation which passed between you and Mr. Rose, to Mr. Smith?

A. When I came back, I told Mr. Smith he might go on to collect bad votes, but must not go on too far.

Mr. FROST the Solicitor was then called and fworn; but before he gave his testimony, he addressed the Bench as follows:

### "My Lord, and a published on the "

" I am fworn: but before I proceed to

" give my testimony on my oath, con-

"fidering the fituation in which I stand to the Parties in this Cause, I wish to

" have fome directions from your Lord-

" ship, whether I should answer some

" questions that may be put to me by the

"Counsel. I prescribed this rule to

" myself "\_\_

Lord Kenyon.——" Don't make a fpeech, Sir. Tell me what you wish me to do—the Law admits of no such delicacy."

Mr. Frost then proceeded in his evidence as follows:

ROSE, du

" My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury,

" The contested Election for Westmin-"fter ended on the fourth of August, "1788. In the months of September and "October following Mr. SMITH came se frequently to me, and brought me lifts " of bad votes, which he had difcovered " at the preceding Election. After fre-" quent visits, and some circumstances 66 having paffed between Mr. SMITH and " me, I thought it necessary to go to Mr. " Rose, to ask him if SMITH was a pro-" per person to be trusted, because the com-" munications were of some consequence. "When I had an interview with Mr. "Rose, I told him of the visits which " I had from SMITH, respecting these bad "votes, and asked him whether SMITH

" might

" might be trufted? Mr. Rose SAID, " I MIGHT WITH GREAT SAFETY TRUST "SMITH, FOR THEY KNEW HIM WELL." "This was in the Treasury. On the " 28th of October, I had a lift of bad " votes from Mr. SMITH, which I exa-" mined during a long period, when Mr. " SMITH and I understood each other. "It was by Mr. Rose's direction, that Mr. "SMITH had collected bad votes in Sep-"tember and October. He returned me " lifts of upwards of fix hundred bad votes. "This business he performed, in my opi-"nion, with abilities and zeal, and his " bill was extremely reasonable. After he " had gone fome length, he applied to me " repeatedly for money. I kept a distinct " account of those persons employed by "the Treasury from those whom I em-" ployed, as Agent of Lord Hoop. Upon " my refusing to give him money, he " brought me this bill."-

[Here Mr. FROST produced a bill, delivered to him by the Plaintiff: It amounted to 59l. In this bill Mr. Rose was intitled debtor to the Plaintiff; on which appeared, in the hand-writing of Mr. Rose,—"Mode-"

"RATE, AND OUGHT TO BE PAID."]

Frost then continued his narrative,—

- " After I had feen Mr. Rose, I told Mr.
- " Smith, that if he would bring a letter
- " to me from Mr. Rose, I would pay him
- " for his fervices in this business."

Mr. FROST was here asked by Mr. MINGAY, whether Mr. Rose had not told him, that he meant to do SMITH some favour? To which Mr. FROST replied, that he did not recollect.—But on Mr. MINGAY mentioning the Excise, and Lord Kenyon requesting that the whole truth might come out, Mr. FROST answered in these words:

"When I was speaking to Mr. Rose, of Smith, Mr. Rose said, that there was fomething of a Prosecution going on with the EXCISE against Smith, and as a mark of the Trust and Confidence they had in him, they had INTER-FERED, and STEPT IN to SERVE HIM; but in what way was not ex-

" plained.

TROST

(Speared, better mend-writer

"The Lists were brought to me com-

" pleat in a long Roll, which had been

" delivered to Mr. Rose; and he never

" denied that he was to pay Mr. SMITH.

" The Plaintiff has no claim upon me or

" my Lord Hoop."

Mr. Erskine.—" My Lord this is our Case."

#### DEFENCE.

Mr. BEARCROFT, on behalf of the Honourable Secretary, made the following speech:

"May it please your Lordship, and you Gentlemen of the Jury.

"My learned friend, Mr. Erskine, has got on very triumphantly hitherto in this Cause; and it is extremely entertaining to go with the wind, whenever there is an attack made on persons in the situation of the present Defendant. How wife it is to resist this demand, I shall not say; but if there is any thing unwise

unwise in it, I am not the cause. Gentlemen, you have not yet heard the whole of this Cause: when you have, in God's name, do Justice; but stop, and do not proceed on such suggestions as have been made to you in the opening of this Case. My learned friend told you, "That a great "number of observations in this Cause "might present themselves to a mind distingly a posed to mischief; but that he should "studiously avoid all such observa-"tions."

"He spent nine tenths of the whole time he took up in his opening, in suggesting, "That the expence was defrayed out of "the public purse;" but, Gentlemen, has this been proved? It has not. If it was so, it was very dishonourable: but no man is to presume it, without proof; and I do not believe there is a tittle of truth in it. It has been proved that the Plaintiff's name was mentioned to Mr. Rose at different times, if you please, encouraged him. The Secretary of the Treasury was the Friend

of Lord Hood, and had occasionally given his opinion.—

Lord Kenyon. "Mr. Bearcroft, what do you say to one piece of Evidence, to wit, as to the Bill?"—'To Gorge Rose, Debtor;' "and the De-"fendant, so far from denying it, having marked on it," "moderate, and ought to be 'paid."

Mr. BEARCROFT. "My Lord, Mr. Rose did not interfere further, than became any Gentleman who was a Friend to Lord Hood. I know I stand in an awkward fituation; but I shall state an answer, and I know I must state a strong answer to this piece of Evidence. This Election, then, as we all know, was carried on by a Committee: on the part of Lord Hood, there is a bill that was delivered in by the present Plaintiff to that Committee: it contained a great number of the items of the bill delivered to Mr. Rose by Mr. Frost, and which is paid.—I shall be ready to affent to any propofal that may be thought proper in this case.

Lord

Lord Kenyon. "Mr. Bearcroft, you cannot without exceeding strong evidence indeed, get over the Bill delivered.—Here is a Bill, in which Geo. Rose, Esquire, is made Debtor; and it is not denied that he is answerable for the payment of it."

Mr. BEARCROFT .- " My Lord, I hope and trust that I shall be heard to the end of my Defence for my Client; and that you, Gentlemen of the Jury, will do him justice, although he is a Secretary to the Treasury. All that I desire, is, that I may have an opportunity of stating the Case clearly. Mr. Frost has told you, that a Bill was delivered, in which GEORGE ROSE was made Debtor, and that he allowed it to be moderate, and that it ought to be paid. The present Plaintiff, however, is calling on Mr. ROSE for this Bill, amongst the rest, for certain business supposed to be done on the credit of Mr. Rose, when, in fact, Smith did not give credit to Mr. ROSE for the present Bill, but to Lord Hoop's Committee,"

Mr.

Mr. Erskine.—" No! No! all is for business done and money paid for Mr. Rose to other people; exclusive of business settled by the Agents of Lord Hood's Committee."—

Mr. Bearcroft (holding a Bill in his hand) faid, "Gentlemen of the Jury, This Bill is composed of articles for eating and drinking, and money paid. There is an item for finding out bad votes, Bludgeon-Men, &c. opposite to which there is a blank. It concludes with the words "humbly fubmitted." Now, Gentlemen, the amount of this Bill, exclusive of this article, for which nothing is charged, is 129l. 6s. 9d. I shall prove that he received this fum from the hands of Mr. Jackson, and for which the Plaintiff gave him a Receipt in full of all demands. But it is faid-" here are other demands, for articles of a different kind." In the Bill itself he makes a charge for collecting upwards of fix hundred bad votes. But whom does he charge with the payment of this fum? The F

The person, to be sure, to whom he delivers this Bill. But if he goes away with 129l. and gives a Receipt in sull of all demands, with this article in the Bill, I trust that my Lord and you will be of opinion, that the Plaintiff thought, at this time, that he had no surther demand upon any body."

Mr. BALDWIN requested his Lordship to observe the distinction between the two Bills.

composed of articles for eating and dutile-

Lord KENYON. "Mr. Baldwin, if you will give me leave, I think I have just fense enough to comprehend this Bill."

Mr. Jackson was called, on the part of the Defendant, to prove the substance of the Defence, and that the Plaintiff had no Cause of Action. He gave the following Narrative, on Oath:

"As Mr. Frost had refused to pay a unumber of Bills on account of Lord Hood,

"Hood, I was defired, by his Lordship, " fome time about February, 1700, to " collect in all the outstanding Bills. I " accordingly fent to all the Chairmen of "the feveral Committees, and had Bills " fent in to a very confiderable amount. "Mr. Smith called on me, and delivered " to me the Bill which I have now in my " hand. I asked Mr. Smith for the Bill " of sol, which makes the first item in " this Bill. Mr. Smith faid, he had deli-" vered it in to Mr. Rose, and he believed " Mr. Rose had delivered it to Mr. Frost, " and that he could not get it from Mr. " Frost, because they were not upon good " terms .-- 1291. 6s. 9d. was the whole of his "Bill, exclusive of this article, viz. fix " bundred bad votes, bludgeon-men, &c. 'hum-" bly submitted.' I told him, Mr. Smith, " there are charges here that are very li-" beral; but, if I pay you 129l. 6s. 6d. "I suppose you will be satisfied. He he-" fitated a little, and then faid, 'he should." " I would not have paid him one shilling, "except on condition of his having ac-" cepted F 2 REPE)

"cepted of this 129l. 6s. 6d. in full of all demands. I told him repeatedly, that I had nothing to do with Mr. Rose, and that I was only to examine the Bills of Lord Hood, to see if they contained the whole of the respective demands. I also told the Plaintiff, that he must settle

" every thing."

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On his Cross-Examination he repeated this evidence, adding, "I know nothing "of Mr. Rose; I was only Lord Hood's "Agent, and had no direction to pay for these bad votes."

The Right Honourable Thomas Steel,
Paymaster of the King's Forces, attending, in obedience to a Subpœna, to give
his evidence on this Trial, said, the urgency of public business demanded his
attendance at another place: he begged
permission therefore to retire, to which
Mr. Erskine politely and obligingly consented.

## REPLY.

Mr. Erskine, on the part of the Plaintiff, made the following Reply.

May it please your Lordship, and you Gentlemen of the Jury,

I am persuaded that my learned Friend, Bearcroft, after he goes home, on a few moments reflection, will eafily perceive the prudence of one part of his Address to you .-- I had my reasons for being disposed to treat Mr. Rose with great courtesy and respect. I have some private reasons, which it is unnecessary to state, and I confulted with my friends how far I could do it confistently with my situation here-bow far I could do compleat justice to my Client, and preserve that courtesy and respect which every Gentleman would wish to shew to another. I did draw a veil over this business. I was unwilling to impute any thing criminal to Mr. Rose, any thing improper, any thing

thing indelicate, any thing inconfiftent with the duties of his Situatian, any thing difbonourable to the Character of a Secretary of the Treasury. I opened the Case, by stating, that he might have done it as a private friend of Lord Hood, or for the purpose of supporting the principle of a Bill to be brought before Parliament, and not as the Agent of Corruption; for such conduct, from fuch motives, must necessarily excite your resentment, as well as the indignation of the Public. Nothing shall provoke me to deviate from the line of moderation which I originally fet out with; and therefore, fince it is not at all necessary for the ends of justice, I repeat the observations I formerly made, namely, that I am much more willing to suppose that Mr. Rose has nothing to answer for, than that he bas.

"He has certainly attended with very little discretion to a trifling demand, which is as clearly made out, as the price of a halfpenny Roll which is sold in a market. I wish to consider George Rose, Esq. at present,

fent, merely as a man standing in a Court of Justice. I wish to forget that he is a Member of Parliament; I wish to forget that he is a Secretary of the Treasury; that he is a friend of Lord Hood, and that Lord Hood and Lord John Townshend were Candidates at that Election. It is needless for me to state how necessary it is to the People, and the Salvation of the State, that the Representative Body should be freely elected; and that the Representatives so elected, ought to carry on the Legislative part of the Constitution. I hope few Causes like this will ever make their appearance in a Court of Justice. In the first place, one cannot help lamenting, that, for the paltry fum of 110l, the amount of an Election Bill. a Man in a public station, and one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, should permit a demand so justly due, to be publicly discussed in a Court of Justice; and that we should be obliged to examine this Election Bill by the unwilling testimony of this Mr. Clubb. a Messenger of the Treasury. If he had gone

on a little further, I should have applied to my Lord to commit him!

[Here Mr. ERSKINE recited the principal parts of Mr. Clubb's evidence.]

He is, said he, a profligate and corrupt Witness, coming into a Court of Justice to fpeak against what he knows, but he at last. proved the Plaintiff's case. We next call Mr. Frost, and then let us see what fort of a case this is. The Plaintiff makes out a bill, and calls on Mr. Frost, who says he has nothing at all to do with the business. The bill is next presented to George Rose, Esq. which he examines, and afterwards writes on it, "That it was moderate, and ought to be paid." Would ever Mr. Rose have done this, if he had thought that Mr. Smith was never to have been paid? It is I who want to protect Mr. Rofe. My learned friend wants to degrade him to the level of a common Attorney for Lord Hood-I want to exalt him. Mr. Froft then tells you, that this man conducted himfelf

himself with a great deal of zeal and abilities; that he had actually detected fix hundred bad votes: and the demand. Mr. Frost thought, was extremely reasonable. When the bill comes in, it is a hard thing, it seems, for Mr. Rose to pay it. " Take it out of honest Mr. John Bull's " pocket! There is no great harm in tak-"ing a flice out of the Excise, or public " Revenue, to defray a little of the Expence " of the Election of a Ministerial Member " of Parliament." Gentlemen, there is nothing plainer, than that if I can fave a man from a bundred pounds penalty, it is the same as paying bim an bundred pounds; and if this bundred pounds penalty would otherwise have gone into the Treasury, it is felf-evident, that this bundred was in effect " paid out of the Treasury."

I at last come to the Defence, and a more mean, paltry, shabby, contemptible one, I never saw brought into a Court of Justice. Here is a man, who stood in a double capacity, for having done business for Mr. Rose, on his own retainer, and also for Lord Hood.

Says Mr. Jackson, I never knew Mr. Rose. What business then had Mr. Jackson with Mr. Rose's debt? And yet Mr. Jackson is pleased to say to Mr. Smith—Although I know nothing of Mr. Rose, and although I am only Agent to Lord Hood, yet I will not pay you for the business that was done for Lord Hood, unless you give me a discharge in full of all demands for the business also that has been done for Mr. Rose!

Gentlemen of the Jury, independent of the law of this case, I protest to you I cannot discover (I confess to you I am a dull man) the common decency, the common honesty, or the propriety of any part of this transaction. The Plaintiff, Mr. Smith, has been at great labour. It is confessed on all hands, that he has discovered upwards of six hundred bad votes, polled for Lord John Townsbend, which, by the

the industry of my Client, passed for no-

Gentlemen, I put this question to you:

—When a man has a fair demand on A, and A says to him, unless you will give up your demand on B, I will not discharge you; what must you think of A? I will shew my regard to the Public, by not pressing this matter any further. Gentlemen in the situation of the Desendant, will do well to beware how they desend such actions!

Lord Kenyon's Address to the Jury.

Gentlemen of the Jury,

We have nothing to do with the prudence or good sense that has brought this Cause into public discussion. Since it is brought here, we are to do justice, as well as we can, between the Parties. We must consider it as a demand made by one individual on another individual, on a contract either expressed or implied. And it

does appear to me, that nobody was more answerable for this demand than Mr. Rose. If the Witnesses for the Plaintiff were to be believed, Mr. Rose directed the Plaintiff to go on to find out bad votes. It must be supposed that Mr. Smith was to be paid by somebody, and no other person being accessary to this business, I protest I do not know to whom to ascribe the order, but to Mr. Rose. Mr. Smith had frequent conversations upon this subject with him, and upon the whole of the evidence, Mr. Rose must be considered as debtor to the Plaintiff.

But here another question arises, and that is "Whether this demand has been "paid?" This, Gentlemen, perhaps is not ultimately a very important Action,

Kenyon's Address to the

Mr. Jackson has told you, that Mr. Smith's bill with him amounted to 129l. 6s. 6d. and there was another article, to wit, for collecting six hundred bad votes, for which nothing was charged; but these words were

were added, "humbly fubmitted." Mr. Jackson told him, that he would settle every thing, and that he asked him, Whether 129l. would not fatisfy his whole demand? The Plaintiff hefitated for fome time, which he could not do about the Amount of the Bill, for that was only 1201, and therefore it must have been about the Article of the Bad Votes, for which nothing was charged, but only "humbly fubmitted." If that evidence is true, undoubtedly it shews, that he was paid the whole of the demand. The whole of the demand stated in the Bill, amounted exactly to the fum which Mr. Jackson offered to pay.

I look at this Cause as other people do. Upon the whole of the Evidence, if you are of opinion that the payment of this Bill by Mr. Jackson meant to go in satisfaction of the whole demand, your Verdict will be for the Defendant; but on the contrary, if you are of a different opinion, and think that this demand is for other services

fervices not included in the Bill paid by Jackson, you will find a Verdict for the Plaintiff in the land and had

Gentlemen of the Jury, it is your peculiar province to decide in this case. The Constitution of the Country has placed it in your hands, and I have no doubt but you will do substantial justice between the Parties of the Ball to slotte and tucks

which nothing was charged, but only The JURY immediately found a VERDICT for the PLAINTIFF: Damages --- One Hundred & Ten Pounds, Hid adt ai Five Shillings, it to slady

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## REFLECTIONS,

ADDRESSED TO

## GEORGE ROSE, Esq.

Your King's Bench Defeat will open the eyes of a deluded people. They will infer from that decision, Sir, why their taxes are multiplied, and how an incorrupt Administration procure their Majorities. It is now upon record in a Court of Justice, that a Treasury Secretary, in the presence of his immaculate master, so far degrades the character of a Statesman, as to hire men for the despicable purpose of Election intrigue. If, Sir, there can be any act more unbecoming than this, it is in not paying the man you employed.

Your friend Clubb, although he meant to bring you off, was so bungling an evidence, that he was the chief means of casting you. In one part he swore, that he never told Smith that you were to pay him.

him. In another part he swore, that you told him to inform Smith to give his men victuals and drink, but not to go too far. Do not you, Sir, perceive an unlucky inconfistency in these two parts? As to not going too far, furely you could not mean it in detecting bad votes; for, had it been possible he could have set aside all Lord John Townshend's, it would have been only what you wanted? It could not mean victuals and drink to Smith's men. as those articles had been already ordered by you? Then, Sir, what did you mean by not going too far? The only way in which I can explain it, is from what appears, that your friend Clubb faid, in the presence of his Majesty's Minister, the present Paymaster of the Forces, and yourfelf, when recommending Smith to them, " That he was a staunch patriot, " and would go any lengths." Knowing his bold capability, from this good character, your prudence fuggested, I suppose, that he must not go too far, as it might lead you into a scrape. Do not you

you think, Sir, that the staunch Pat-Riots, at Birmingham, have gone too far? I am sure you, and every good man, is of that opinion. May some of their ringleaders remain unpaid, and their secret abettors will be dragged forward into a Court of Justice, as you lately have been!

Your friend Clubb is certainly a man of very great consequence. Although but a Treasury Runner, he fuggests opinions, and directs, indeed, the very Chiefs of Administration! This mighty Messenger! this winged Treasury God, Mercury, even advises and controuls our immaculate State Jupiter himself! For is it not now proved in a Court of Justice, that he suggested! that he advised the Minister's Secretaries, in his very presence!

Of what wonderful and weighty confequence then is a Treasury Messenger!
These Messengers, instead of sitting in your Lobby, where you yourself have often fat formerly, should sit in Parliament, and enjoy the most ample salaries! Why

should such a Treasury Messenger as Clubb suggest, advise, and direct the Minister, and his Secretaries, and have no more salary for a whole Year's service, than you, Sir, have for every single Day in the Year? At the Tax-Office, had you not but Fifty Pounds a Year? Now, it is reported, that you have Fifty Pounds a Day! George Rose, the Secretary, has a greater income than the Republican Emperor of the American States, the illustrious Washington!

Your friend Clubb, in all the haughty exterior of your master, Pitt, it appears, "informs the Court that he had the ho"nour of producing the first interview between Mr. Smith, the Publican, and "Mr. Rose, the Secretary!"

In another place, your friend Clubb tells the Court, with much pomp, "I recom"mended Mr. Smith to Mr. Pitt, Mr.
"Steel, and Mr. Rose!"

Again, your friend Clubb boafts in Court, "that the Commander in Chief

bined

" of the British Fleet, Lord Hood, is his " perfonal friend!"

Your friend Clubb, like Middleton, could not recollect, at one time, who was in the room, when he mentioned to you and Mr. Steel, "that Mr. Smith was a " proper person to serve them, as he was " a staunch patriot, and would go any " lengths!"

But your friend Clubb, in another part of his evidence, recollects that

" HIS MATESTY'S FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY! and

" BRITAIN'S HEAVEN-BORN MINISTER!

"was in the room with you and friend "Clubb, when you fettled the bargain for " employing Smith!"

Your friend Clubb fays, that Smith frequently extorts an answer from you. An old Officer in the Army, who was present at the Trial, remarked upon this, "That "if we were to examine all those Gentle-66 men

" men in the Treafury anti-chamber, who,

"while peevishly waiting upon you, in

"deep chagrin at eternal procrastination

" and perpetual disappointment, examin-

"ing the large Map of London hanging

" there, nineteen out of twenty would

" fubscribe to the truth of your friend

" Clubb's doctrine."

Lord Hawkesbury knows that Map well. So do you. Both of you, I am told, have been students there, for obtaining a complete knowledge of political geography, among the Messengers; although, no doubt, you studied at very different periods.

If the present Administation, Sir, should unaccountably continue much longer in office, I really think that your friend Clubb should sometimes preside in the Treasury Board Room, as he has often done below stairs; at the Board of Election; and he ought certainly to be ennobled, for his fuperior knowledge, his great zeal, and his incessant activity. Indeed, Sir, many, not

half

half so deserving as Clubb, have been ennobled by your Colleagues. In such a case, I would advise you to persuade your friend to adopt his title from his name, as it is so very significant. It would most pointedly indicate his deep erudition among the Bludgeoneers, in all suture Elections whatever.

But enough of Clubb; as, if I may be allowed to pun, you are by this time, Sir, more difgusted with that Clubb than the French King is with the Club of Jacobins, or others with the philanthropic Club of that amiable, learned, and benevolent martyr, PRIESTLY! Having mentioned Priestly, I much wonder, had Price been alive on the fourteenth, if the populace, (i. e. in my dictionary, the mob) would have paid an igneal visit to his unhallow. ed Meeting-house? I rather think it would have been in their lift; and I, therefore, so far rejoice in the Doctor's death, as that circumstance has very probably faved the peace of the capital.

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I cannot help here congratulating the inostensible Lord Hawkelbury, in the abfence of Mr. Dundas, who, as Treasurer of the Navy, was reviewing the fleet at Portsmouth; so far interfering himself in the Secretary's affairs, as to write to the unfortunate fufferers at Birmingham, with proffers to fend the most eminent Counsel to affift in their enquiries concerning the origin of the Riots, under the direction of the Attorney and Solicitor General. With all my predilection for the mild Mr. Macdonald, and the shrewd Sir John Scott, the King's Attorney and Solicitor General, I beg, Sir, you will recommend these Gentlemen to call in, as eminent Counfel, the Prince of Wales's Attorney and Solicitor General, Messrs. Erskine and Pigott. I shall, in that case, have very great hopes of the grand authors of this horrid plot being discovered; and furely to obtain fuch a discovery, neither expence, time, nor talents, ought to be spared. Would it not likewise be worth while to enquire, why the foldiers were fo long in reaching Birmingham, and how the

the furious populace were so well trained, and so humane all of a sudden, as to train off, without one life being lost, at the approach of the military?

Had the Diffenters raised such a mob, I wonder if the military would have been fo tardy in their march, and the lives of the vile mob (not the populace then!) fo miraculoufly have been spared? I see, by the papers, that the police populace in Dublin, too, have been firing, on that evening, a few rounds of powder and ball in the streets, upon harmless passengers, by way of a feu de joie, which, very luckily, was ended, without rifing to a Birmingham illumi-Is it not strange, nay unaccountable, how the populace of Birmingham and Dublin should, on that day, agree in endeavouring to destroy the friends of freedom, and the British Conftitution? The train was well laid; but I am fure you rejoice with me in this, Sir, that all those Riots have ceased.

To return: enough being said of your friend